

The Suffragist

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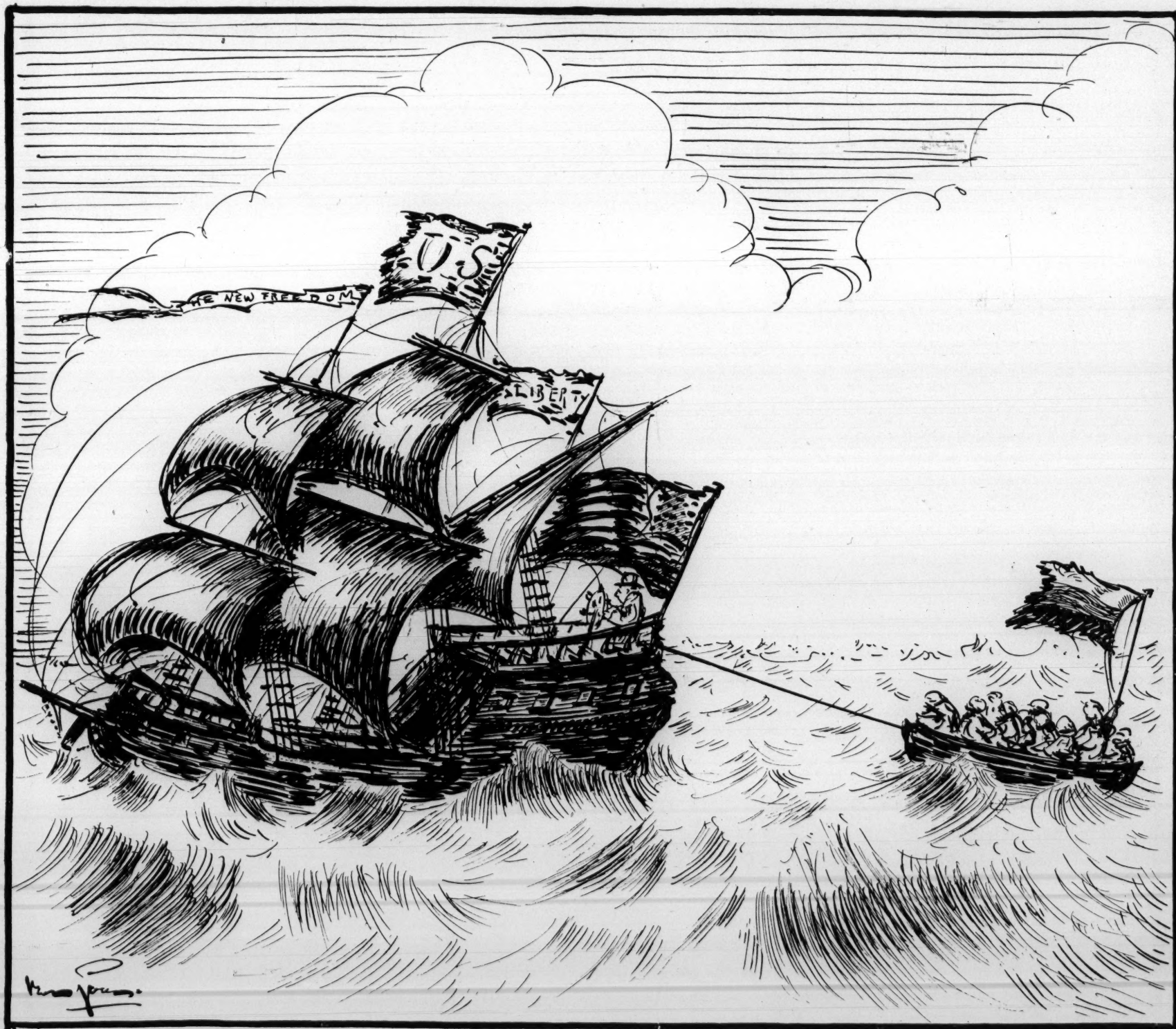
OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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VOL. II

JANUARY 31, 1914

No. 5



Oh Captain! TELL US, will you let us come on board?

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Situation in Congress

An effort is being made by the Congressional Union to bring the Resolution creating a House Suffrage Committee before the Democratic caucus.

Deputation to the President

Women wage earners representing many trades have offered to come to Washington from Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Rhode Island, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, to join the women workers of the District of Columbia in their deputation to President Wilson on February 2d, on behalf of equal suffrage.

Kenyon Bill

The Kenyon Bill, which imposes a heavy fine on the owners of property used for immoral purposes in the District of Columbia, passed the House unanimously on Monday of last week. This bill was brought from the House Committee where it lay apparently buried, by the efforts of women who in the week following the Suffrage Convention, made a public tour of inspection through the disorderly houses of the District of Columbia and revealed the evil conditions flourishing in the center of the National Capital. While this bill is welcomed by Suffragists, as an effort to minimize the profits of immoral trading and to make the owners of the houses responsible for the evil uses of their property, still a measure of this kind only makes Suffragists the more determined to secure for women the right to shape legislation dealing this and similar evils. The Kenyon Bill affects drastically the lives of thousands of women. It touches an evil that women feel most keenly. It has, we believe, an honest purpose; but it is merely a repressive act and does not in the least go to the root of the social evil, which is the present political and economic inferiority of women to men. It will result in closing up houses which are a menace to the health of the community but it gives no help to the inmates of those houses. It will turn them helpless out into the streets to find what shelter and occupation they may. What is needed, all women feel, is constructive legislation, dealing with the industrial education of girls and the widening of economic fields for women; and that moral training which comes from independent and voluntary co-operation for high social purposes.

Suffrage Play

Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest who is in charge of the production of "How the Vote Was Won," at the Columbia Theater on February 20, announced that this play will be preceded by a one-act sketch called "Before Sunrise." Tickets are now on sale at 1420 F Street.

Congressional Union Campaign

PROPAGANDA WORK

Washington, D. C.

A very interesting meeting was held at the Dewey Hotel, on L Street, between 13th and 14th, on Monday, January 26th, at 8 P. M., under the auspices of Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, of the Congressional Union. Miss Lucy Burns, vice chairman of the Congressional Union, spoke on the Constitutional Amendment, and Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, on Constitutional History.

Mrs. Nina Allender, President of the District of Columbia Woman Suffrage Association, spoke on the need for suffrage for the protection of the children of the country, at a drawing room meeting held at apartment 402 Florence Court, on Wednesday, January 28th, at 8 P. M. Miss Emily K. Perry spoke on the direct means to Woman Suffrage being through a constitutional amendment.

Open air meetings were held as usual, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings, under the auspices of Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, chairman of out-door meetings. Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, Mrs. Thompson, and Miss Jones of North Carolina were the speakers.

A series of very interesting propaganda meetings were held at the different department stores of Washington, to interest the women and girl workers in the working women's deputation, which is to arrive in Washington, Sunday, February 1. Mrs. Wm. Kent, wife of Congressman Kent, of California, spoke at Woodward and Lothrop's store, at the corner of 11th and F Streets. Mrs. Laura K. Owens at Goldenburg's, 7th and New York Avenue; Miss Mildred Koonce and Miss Bessie Barkley at the Palais Royal, 11th and G Streets, and Mrs. Nina Allender at Kann's store, 8th and Market Place, and Mrs. Mary Kealty Clagett at Lansburgh's, on 7th Street. Mrs. Katharine Woods spoke to the workers of the Stone Straw Factory, one of the few factories in Washington. Many names were secured at these meetings, of those who wished to take part in the Labor demonstration, on February 2d.

Delaware

A most interesting parlor meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Mary Hearn, 907 West Street Wilmington, Delaware, Friday afternoon, January 30th. Mrs. Mary Conkle and Miss Mabel Vernon were the speakers.

Miss Mabel Vernon has spoken before the trade unions of Wilmington during the past week, and following her speech each union has passed resolutions endorsing woman suffrage and calling upon Delaware's representatives in Washington to vote in favor of the Federal Amendment.

A class in public speaking held its first meeting at Congressional Union headquarters, Wednesday afternoon, January 28th, at 3.30 o'clock. A number of women who are anxious to speak for suffrage at parlor and open-air meetings have joined the class, which is under the direction of Miss Mabel Vernon.

Maryland

Miss Doris Stevens, the executive secretary of the Congressional Union, spoke in Baltimore, at a meeting of the District Chairmen, on Friday afternoon, January 23, at the residence of Mrs. Perry, 1224 Madison Avenue, on the subject of the Labor Demonstration which is to take place in Washington, February 2. The sympathy and co-operation of those present at the meeting was enlisted and the promise of a deputation of one hundred and fifty Baltimore workers to join others from all parts of the country, in Washington, on February 2.

Miss Stevens spoke again in the evening before a meeting of the Just Government League of Maryland, at 817 North Charles Street, Baltimore, and enlisted the names of twenty-five delegates from the Just Government League, to the Labor Demonstration in Washington. Pledges were also secured for the benefit of the demonstration.

PROGRAM OF THE WEEK

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1st.

Washington, D. C., Brighton Apt. House, California Street Northwest, Reception for the Deputation of Women Workers.—All invited. 4 to 6.30 P. M.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3d.

Wilmington, Del., Residence of Dr. de La Couer. Meeting under the auspices of the Men's League of Wilmington 8.00 P. M.
Speaker, Dr. Robt. Brooke, Swarthmore College.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4th.

Washington, D. C., Residence of Mrs. John N. Speel, 1516 K Street Northwest—Afternoon Meeting 4.45 P. M.
Speakers will be announced later.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5th.

Washington, D. C., 14th and Kenyon Sts. N. W.—Open Air Meeting. 8.00 P. M.
Speakers, Mrs. Brooke and Miss Jones, N. C.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6th.

Washington, D. C., 9th and Eye Sts., N. W.—Open Air Meeting. 8.00 P. M.
Speaker, Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7th.

Washington, D. C., 10th and Pa. Ave.—Open Air Meeting 8.00 P. M.
Speakers, Mrs. Katherine Woods and Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson.

TREASURER'S REPORT

The Congressional Union is urging its members to keep before them the great campaigns which are already on, and to familiarize themselves at once with the situation in Ohio, Nebraska and Missouri where referendum petitions are being circulated at this moment. There is confident expectation that the question of equal suffrage will likewise be submitted to the male citizens in those states as well in November.

This makes seven campaigns in which the Union desires to take an active part. They must be won. This is the time to strike for the emancipation of all women through the immense leverage which will be accumulated by the admission of these seven states. No loyal suffragist can be idle now.

The first organizer to be sent will go to Nevada, since the first appeal came from that state, and because the Union as before stated considers it a strategic point. Their interest is none the less abiding in all seven campaigns. What will you do to help?

Contribution Toward \$25,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

List of Contributors, January 19th-27th

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.....	\$5,000.00
Mrs. Olive Halladay Hasbrouck..	10.00
Miss Helen Paul.....	6.00
Two working women.....	1.00
Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner.....	5.00
Mr. Abbott Lawrence Hardy....	1.00
Anna Herkner	1.00
Collection	1.00
Anonymous	6.00
Miss Susan P. Keech.....	3.00
Anonymous	1.75
Membership fees	6.25
Woman's Equal Suffrage League.	5.00

Total

Previously acknowledged in The

Suffragist

Total to January 27th, 1914..

Extracts from "The New Freedom"

"The old political formulas do not fit the present problem; they read now like documents taken out of a forgotten age."

"The life of the nation has grown infinitely varied. It does not center now upon questions of governmental structure or of the distribution of governmental powers. It centers upon questions of the very structure and operation of society itself, of which government is only the instrument."

"There is something very new and very big and very complex about these new relations of capital and labor. A new economic society has sprung up, and we must effect a new set of adjustments. We must not pit power against weakness. The employer is generally, in our day, not an individual, but a powerful group; and yet the workingman when dealing with his employer is still, under our existing law, an individual."

"I am therefore forced to be a progressive, if for no other reason, because we have not kept up with our changes of conditions, either in the economic field or in the political field. We have not kept up as well as other nations have. We have not kept our practices adjusted to the facts of the case, and until we do, and unless we do, the facts of the case will always have the better of the argument; because if you do not adjust your laws to the facts, so much the worse for the laws, not for the facts, because law trails along after the facts."

"I do not challenge their character; I challenge their point of view. We cannot afford to be governed as we have been governed in the last generation, by men who occupy so narrow, so prejudiced, so limited a point of view."

"If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to have guardians put over them, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children, patronized by the government, why, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America. But I don't believe they do. I believe they want to stand on the firm foundation of law and right and take care of themselves. I, for my part, don't want to belong to a nation, I believe that I do not belong to a nation, that needs to be taken care of by guardians. I want to belong to a nation, and I am proud that I do belong to a nation, that knows how to take care of itself."

"Those men have framed the protective tariff, have developed the trusts, have coordinated and ordered all the great economic forces of their country in such a fashion that nothing but an outside force breaking in can disturb their domination and control. It is with this in mind, I believe, that the country can say to these gentlemen: 'We do not deny your integrity; we do not deny your purity of purpose; but the thought of the people of the United States has not yet penetrated to your consciousness. You are willing to act for the people, but you are not willing to act through the people. Now we propose to act for ourselves.'"

Mrs. Belmont's Gift.

Friends and supporters of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, were overjoyed to learn yesterday that Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's very substantial and most generous gift of five thousand dollars to their cause; and this news as well as the knowledge of what Mrs. Belmont's active support and strong following will mean, as well as the news of the application for membership in the Union, made by Mrs. Ella Sass Stewart of Illinois, who is one of the most gifted and brilliant speakers in the suffrage cause.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

HEADQUARTERS, 1420 F St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.,

COLORS, Purple, White and Gold.

The Congressional Union was formed with one idea in mind, that of focusing its entire energy upon securing the passage of a Federal Amendment. It is open to all women who consider woman suffrage the main issue in national politics.

Its object in endeavoring to compel action by the Democratic party, because it is the party in power, should be dwelt upon by every student of legislative procedure. The Government can be made to understand that the enfranchisement of the women citizens of our country comes before all legislation whatsoever. Women will be as much affected by the trust legislation as the men of these United States, and by the standards of Democracy their voice should be heard in no uncertain terms. The entrance fee is 25 cents, after which there are no dues.

If you are willing to help us, fill out the following membership blank and send it, with the 25 cents entrance fee, to the Congressional Union, 1420 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Date.....

Full address

Telephone number

Occupation

DATE.....
NAME
FULL ADDRESS
Telephone Number
Occupation

W. B. MOSES & SONS
Everything for the Home
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The Suffragist

Official weekly newspaper of the

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SENATE AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION
NUMBER ONE Proposing an amendment to the
Constitution of the United States extending the right
of suffrage to women

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.

In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.

In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, unanimous favorable report.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.

September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demands immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Present Status:

In the Senate: Awaiting action.

In the House: Before the Judiciary Committee.

Deputation to President Wilson

During the past year various deputations have approached the President of the United States to ask for the extension of political freedom to women.

The coming deputation, which will wait upon the President with his permission on the second of February, is the most important and most significant of all. It represents the women workers of ten States, engaged in various forms of self-support: Laundresses, seamstresses, corset-makers, factory girls, business women, storekeepers, office women, stenographers, and printers will unite to approach the head of our administration, to ask him for the right to protect their own interests and shape the legislation under which they must live and work.

No argument, no appeal, could be more eloquent than this simple act. If these women spoke not a single word to the President, they would yet have made an unanswerable plea. We expect that the President will recognize the justice and urgency of this claim. The author of the "New Freedom" cannot deny it without a complete sacrifice of consistency. He cannot consistently put off their claim while legislation affecting these and other women is ground out of the Congressional mill without their approbation or consent.

The moment has come when a wise statesmanship will recognize the greatness of this issue. Statesmanship, after all, merely consists in seeing big things big and little things little. It is only reasonable to hope that President Wilson will soon recognize that the causes he is espousing today are trivial in comparison with the great question of human liberty that is knocking at his door.

The Question of Policy

At last Suffragists have stopped talking about organization, taxation and constitutions and have begun to argue with one another on the question of political methods. Two methods have up to the present been proposed for national suffrage work. The first is to try to persuade individual Congressmen to support the woman suffrage amendment and to oppose in their constituencies those who can not be won by argument, with a view to getting in both Houses of Congress a majority of suffragists composed of men of all parties. The second method is to ask the party now in power to pass a Woman Suffrage Amendment through Congress in the present session, since they now hold in their hands sufficient power to do so; and to hold this party responsible at the polls for their answer to our request when they seek the re-endorsement of the people at the next election.

The value of a method can best be seen by the machine to which it is to be applied.

The present political machine is absolutely controlled by the Democratic party. It is composed of three departments, the Executive, the Senate and the House. Each of these is held by the Democrats, who form common plans in regard to the bills which they will accept and those which they will reject.

If the party decides to accept a bill they have a tremendous power to secure its passage. It is, in the first place, drafted by the leaders of the parties in the White House, the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is then submitted to a caucus of the party. Let us follow the workings of the party caucus in one of the Houses. There are in the lower House four hundred thirty-five members; of these, two hundred ninety-one are Democrats. For all practical legislative purposes, one may subtract the one hundred and twenty Republicans and the twenty Progressives. The two hundred ninety-one Democrats who form the majority meet in caucus behind locked doors and settle all questions by a majority vote, unrecorded. Theoretically, this vote may be one hundred forty-six to one hundred forty-five. Under the rules of the caucus, the one hundred forty-five are bound by the decision of the one hundred forty-six, and the one hundred forty-five vote with the one hundred forty-six in the formal open sessions of the House.

But the whole party strength is never present at the party conference. The highest vote cast at a caucus roll call was two hundred fifty-one, and generally there is a much smaller number present. Most caucus verdicts have been rendered by votes in which the prevailing faction cast on an average of one hundred fifteen votes. The largest ever cast was one hundred ninety-six and the smallest was ninety-five. Thus a majority of ninety-five may be given the power by this organization system to control the legislative policy and votes of a body containing four hundred and thirty-five members.

It is well known that the nucleus of the caucus "majority" is made up of members who are indebted for chairmanships, patronage and legislative favors to the House leader, Mr. Underwood, and his Committee on Committees—the Ways and Means Committee. This is the organization, the machine, by which the House is governed.

In the Senate, the system is the same. The Executive offices are entirely Democratic. A measure backed by the party has immense strength behind it.

On the other hand a bill having a great deal of individual support from Congressmen cannot, under ordinary circumstances, get through the House at all if the party decides to oppose it.

We are making no revelations of party misgovernment, no accusation against the present day methods of the Democratic party. The system by which Congress is run is thoroughly understood by everyone interested in national legislation. These methods are used openly and without apology. The President himself, and many admirable public men believe in utilizing party organization to pass legislation; it saves time and concentrates responsibility for a measure on the party leaders whose power has secured its passage. The Democratic party today, whatever else it does is not dodging responsibility; it is willing to take the credit of all the legislation enacted in the 63d Congress and for all the measures that it has refused to deal with.

No honest Democrat today would deny the fact that the present Government is responsible to the women of the country for the attitude it has assumed or will assume on the question of votes for women.

Women will make most speedy progress by showing plainly that they hold the controlling party responsible for the use of its strength

The Working Women's Deputation to the President.

Various deputations of women have from time to time waited upon the President now at the head of our Government, all asking the same justice, but from different angles. A College Women's Deputation went to him to ask for the right of self-government. A deputation from the National Council of Women Voters waited upon him to ask for political freedom for their disfranchised sisters. Representative women from New Jersey presented personally their request for freedom for our nation's women.

Ever since the inauguration of President Wilson, who has said much and written more about Industrial freedom, people have suggested that self-supporting women ask his help in securing the first step in Industrial Democracy—namely, political freedom.

Mrs. Mary Beard, of New York, whose dream it was originally, now sees this most important deputation of all ready to wait upon the gentleman of the "New Freedom."

On the 2d of February working women will for the first time in our history come to the President with their unanswerable right to be allowed to protect themselves; to be allowed help frame the laws under which they must work and die. These women, who are economically independent—many of whom have dependents to care for—cannot be told they have representation, that they can speak through some one else and any number of other things that are often said of the leisure and cultivated classes. These, of all women, if it were desirable to make discrimination, are they whose supreme need is the right to improve their too-wretched working conditions.

The women-workers who are coming from New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and West Virginia, to the number of four hundred, representing all the principal trades in which women are engaged, bring with them the concentrated plea of over 8,000,000 women wage earners. They come as spokesmen for the whole mass of toilers who know best and, therefore, can best present their own needs.

The industries represented are many and dissimilar. There will be carpet-weavers, lace and hosiery menders and weavers, laundry-workers, cotton spinners, corset makers, can cappers, cork and seal makers, shirtwaist makers, factory hands of all sorts, joining with clerks, stenographers, shopkeepers, typists, seamstresses, non-professional business women, and even a delegation of unemployed, of whom there are far too many, in this human cry for justice to women. Some will be more picturesque than others; some will represent better-paid trades than others, but the purpose is a common one and the demand is supremely just and reasonable.

Miss Margaret Hinchey, member of the Laundry-workers' Union of New York City, who, with her keen understanding of and able presentation of the working woman's economic disadvantage while she remains politically unfree, will speak to President Wilson, delicious Irish brogue and all, in behalf of the deputation. She has gone through a merciless system of exploitation under which men and women work, and speaks from the fullness of her industrial experience. She cherishes no bitterness, but only hope that the workers will soon have justice and not favor. If she should shake her finger at the President, as she did at the audience during the recent National Suffrage Convention at Washington, when she thrilled them with her earnest appeal, we

predict certain death of the President's present disinclination to "start anything." Resistance to a demand for justice, when made by Margaret Hinchey, is inconceivable, even from a "spokesman of a party."

Rose Winslow, the weaver, who gave the best of her young life to industry, and who came out wounded, will also be among the number. Between the ages of 11 and 18 she worked long weary hours in a hosiery mill, and fought off fatigue of nights in order to improve herself. In a most impassioned appeal for votes for working women during the National Convention, she cried, "The working girls will never go on strike for working girls' homes, but they will go on strike for higher wages. They do not want to be taught how to save on \$4.00 a week. They want a chance to earn a decent living wage, and spend it as they see fit. Give them the ballot to help secure these opportunities!" That is the sort of cry that is going up from those who toil all over the land. The whole world will be eager to hear how the scholar who wrote "I do not



ROSE WINSLOW

want to see the special interests of the United States take care of the working men, WOMEN, and children. I want to see justice, righteousness, fairness and humanity displayed in all the laws of the United States, and I do not want any power to intervene between the people and their Government. Justice is what we want, not patronage and condescension and pitiful helpfulness," will answer this appeal. It is an epoch-making opportunity to allow those who know best their needs to incorporate them in legislation for their own protection. A sagacious statesman would hasten to seize it.

Rose Schneidermann, Vice-President of the Women's Trade Union League, and representing the white goods workers, is coming from New York, to present her plea for the thousands of women whom she has organized.

The Congressional Union will be hosts to the incoming delegates. They will be met at the station with a score of motor cars, bearing Union banners. Hospitality will be extended the guests by individual members of the Union.

A reception at which the women will have a chance to get together informally has been arranged for Sunday afternoon, February 1, from 4 to 6:30 o'clock at the Brighton. Distinguished members of the Labor Department of the Executive, Senators and Congressmen conspicuous for their sympathy with labor, will receive the women. Among others there will be Senator and Mrs. Owen of Oklahoma, Senator and Mrs. Sutherland of Utah, Senator and Mrs. La Follette of Wisconsin, Congressman and Mrs. Keating of Colorado, Congressman and Mrs. McDonald of Michigan, William Wilson, Secretary of Labor. Louis Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, will speak.

On the morning of the second, a preliminary mass meeting will be held at the Public Library. Miss Rose Schneidermann and others will address the delegates. With standards bearing the names of States and trades represented, they will immediately after march to the White House where President Wilson will receive them. It will be a silent, unostentatious march full of high hope, and we trust will result in freedom for all women.

Weekly Meetings

Miss Emily K. Perry announces that a meeting of members and friends of the Congressional Union will be held every week at 1420 F Street on Sunday afternoon from 4 to 6 o'clock. Tea will be served and a short speech given by a well-known Washington speaker on the current political situation of the Suffrage movement.

Visitors who have not been very recently to the old quarters of the Woman Suffrage offices at 1420 F Street, will be most agreeably surprised to find how much they have been improved by their rearrangement. The main office has been re-carpeted and turned into a most attractive reception room, where our friends are always sure of a welcome; and where suffrage literature and the latest copies of the Suffragist are on sale. A new circulating library which has been started and is in charge of Miss Koonce, is also located here, as are Miss Perry's private office and the telephone switch-board which connects all the offices together.

Miss Perry is the organizer of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in the District of Columbia, and Miss Barkley is chairman of the Literature Committee; and with the exception of their offices all the others have been moved to the Kellogg Building, next door, where there is much more room to carry on the constantly increasing activities of the campaign. Here the rush of work and number of people engaged in it, show very definitely the progress that the business and newspaper departments are making.

A good deal of interest is being shown in the circulating library, and a donation of a copy of "Woman and Industry," and "The Woman Who Toils," by Marie Van Vorst, will be greatly appreciated; also any other books on the feminist movement and on Sociology.

Approval of Convention

That the Congressional Union has not departed from its line of endeavor during the past year is evidenced by an article which appeared in the New York World of December 2d, written by their Washington correspondent, Mr. W. E. Bryant. It is part of the report of the meeting of December 1st, at which time the Illinois victory was celebrated. The speakers at this meeting were Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCullough, of Evanston; Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, of Chicago, past president of the Illinois Suffrage Association; Mrs. Sherman Booth, Mrs. Medill McCormick and Miss Lucy Burns. The following is the quotations from the World:

(Special to The World).

Washington, Dec. 1.—Miss Lucy Burns, vice-chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, stated clearly and briefly to-night to the delegates to the forty-fifth annual convention of the association the purpose of the meeting here as follows:

"The National American Woman Suffrage Association is assembled in Washington to ask the Democratic party to enfranchise the women of America.

"Rarely in the history of the country has a party been more powerful than the Democratic party is to-day. It controls the executive offices, the Senate and more than two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives. It is in position to give us effective and immediate help.

"We ask the Democrats to take action now. Those who hold power are responsible to the country for the use of it. They are responsible not only for what they do, but for what they do not do. Inaction establishes just as clear a record as does a policy of open hostility.

"We have in our hands to-day not only the weapon of a just cause, we have the support of ten enfranchised States, States comprising one-fifth of the United States Senate, one-seventh of the House of Representatives and one-sixth of the electoral vote. More than 3,600,000 women have a vote in Presidential elections. It is unthinkable that a national Government which represents women, and which appeals periodically to the suffrages of women, should ignore the issue of their right of political freedom.

CONGRESS FREE TO ACT.

"We cannot wait until after the passage of scheduled Administration reforms. These reforms which affect women should not be enacted without the consent of women. Congress is free to take action on our question in the present session. We ask the Administration to support the Woman Suffrage amendment in Congress with its whole strength."

More than 1,000 women, representing every State in the Union, heard Miss Burns to-night. They applauded every one of her "warnings" to the Democratic party.

"I am opposed to women voting. Their doing so will destroy that feeling of reverence which men now entertain for them."

There is nothing new in this statement, but the young man who made it is a special agent of the Department of Justice and is employed in investigating *THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC*.

Lighten his darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord.

(Or at least give him the rudiments of a sense of humor).

MARY CAROL.

Taken from January Bulletin National Voters League.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION.

Since modern problems, demanded the attention of Congress, but two systems of parliamentary procedure have been used. One, based upon extraordinary powers vested in the presiding officer, reached its highest development during the Cannon regime in the House. The other, based upon authority in the hands of the floor leader, was developed by Aldrich in the Senate.

When the Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives in 1911, they switched systems, abolishing Cannonism and substituting the Aldrich Senate system. Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, being placed at the head of the Ways and Means Committee, which carried with it the chairmanship of the "committee on committees" and the position of floor leader.

The essential differences between the Old Cannon and the new Underwood systems can be summarized as follows:

UNDER CANNON.

The Speaker was supreme and omnipotent. The majority party caucus was rarely used or needed.

The Rules Committee dominated absolutely and arbitrarily by the Speaker, made the rules, and was a law unto itself.

Standing committees were appointed by the Speaker.

Standing committees were wholly free from control by a majority of the House, unless the Speaker interposed his arbitrary power in behalf of the majority.

Standing committees kept no public record of their acts.

The floor leader was a figure head.

UNDER UNDERWOOD.

The Speaker is generally shorn of power.

The majority party caucus has become Congress.

The Rules Committee retains all its old powers. It is the steering committee and can control the fate of most legislation.

Committees are named by the Ways and Means Committee, of which the floor leader is chairman.

Standing committees still have complete obstructive power, the calendar of motions to discharge committees being unworkable.

Standing committees still have "dark lantern" methods.

The floor leader is practically supreme.

Both systems were based the same—upon the caucus—and yielded the same results—the subordination of the many to a few bosses.

THE CLOSED CAUCUS.

In view of the fact that the majority party caucus, and not the House, makes the rules, ratifies the organization and determines the details of all important legislation, the question of whether or not its sessions shall be held behind closed doors is vital. This issue was decided by the caucus on April 8, 1913.

Mr. Shackelford of Missouri, offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Caucus shall be open to the press, to the President, to the Senators, and to the Cabinet officers, and that the President, the Senators and the Cabinet officers may occupy seats upon the floor."

Mr. Carlin of Virginia, moved the adoption of the following substitute:

"Resolved, That hereafter all Democratic caucuses or conferences, when called either by

the membership or by the chairman of the Caucus, shall be open to the public."

Mr. Hay of Virginia, moved that both resolution and substitute be referred to a committee of three, to report later.

Mr. Thomas of Kentucky, moved that all resolutions and motions be tabled, thus defeating the attempt to secure open caucus meetings. The Thomas motion was adopted, 167 to 84.

PARTYISM.

There has never been a time when the rank and file were so independent and cared so little for party ties; yet Congress has in no previous period been so swayed by partisanship. Partyism is rampant. Out of this condition has grown: (1) the caucus, with all its related evils of secrecy, disfranchisement, minority rule, and wholesale obstruction; and (2) a hopeless division of progressive strength into purely artificial groups. Partisanship operates to keep those members progressively inclined apart by confining them in separate party pastures.

THE RULE OF SENIORITY.

An unwritten law multiplies the powers of old members. The longer a member remains in Congress, the better and more secure is his place in the organization. The bad influence of this custom can hardly be over-emphasized. The enervating political atmosphere of the capital, the conservatism that naturally grows with age, the increased knowledge of how to manipulate machinery, together with the increased skill that comes of practice, all add to the inequalities in the equation between old and new members.

On the other hand, the fresher a member may come from the people, the smaller is the opportunity given him to execute the orders of his constituents. The kind and quality of legislation is determined by the manner in which Congress is organized; and new members are completely excluded, not theoretically but practically, from all participation in the naming of committees and the writing of the rules.

The Woman Factory Worker in Russia

In Russia specialized women's labor is in its comparative infancy. Its purpose and its meaning and the conditions which bear upon it have been but little studied because its great importance has as yet been hardly realized. The women themselves are so full of eagerness to establish the right to work in all branches of labor and to secure such right for the future, that they have yet hardly had time to look around, and to bring about a systematic investigation of the conditions and of the value of their labor. In the meantime such investigations of labor conditions of women are of the utmost importance, not only to the women themselves, but to the nation as a whole. The conditions under which women's labor is carried on are reflected not only in herself but in her descendants, in the whole people. The point of view held, however, by many, that the value of woman consists exclusively in her mother functions, and that, therefore, the conditions under which she lives and works are of importance only in so far as they concern woman as mother, and not in so far as they concern woman as individual, are equally wrong. The study and the establishment of proper labor conditions must be framed both from the points of view of individual as well as of race welfare.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

Suffrage, a Party Issue

Editorial by JUDSON WELLIVER, in the Washington Times, Jan. 25, 1914

Precisely what the two factions of the woman suffragists have fallen out about is not very plain to people outside. There seems to have arisen an acute divergence of opinion as to tweedledee and tweedledum, in the matter of methods.

One group of the Congressional Union ladies are announcing that the political party in power will be held responsible for action or failure to act on the constitutional amendment eliminating the sex distinction in suffrage. The other group, if we understand them, think that to avow such a political purpose is unduly partisan.

"The Democrats are in power," say the political-action ladies. "They control Executive, Senate, and House. They can, if they will, enfranchise women. Their refusal establishes a record which must be taken into consideration by women when the party seeks the indorsement of the people at the polls."

There is the side of the ladies who are willing to fight for what they want. The other side is stated by Mrs. MacLennan, in resigning from the Congressional Union:

"A partisan stand for the cause is unfair to the party in power. It is only just that individual members be held to an accounting for their attitude on the question of the franchise for women."

That seems to state the differences fairly. The Congressional Union would hold the party in power responsible. The other elements would merely blame individuals who opposed them.

First of all, is this question of enfranchising women a political question? There seems only one possible answer. It is nothing but a political question. There is nothing in it but politics. It is as purely politics as the question whether we shall have democracy or monarchy in this country. Extension of the franchise has always been political and nothing but political; in Great Britain, everywhere the fight for popular rule has been waged. There is no other way to carry it on, and the whole lesson of history proves it.

But should it be made a PARTISAN political question? Should the party in power at the moment be held responsible for action taken?

The party now in power has been doing business in a party way. It made the tariff a party caucus question; and the tariff is not half so much a political question as that of extending the franchise is and always has been.

The party in power made currency reform a party caucus question. That likewise is not at all a party question unless it be made such; certainly it is not so political

as the question of doubling the voting body of the nation.

"We neither seek nor desire" outside assistance. That was, in effect, the pointed and ungracious reply of high Democratic authority to a suggestion that votes from the other side of the political line might be secured for non-political measures pending in the present Congress.

That attitude merely makes EVERYTHING a political question. It made tariff and currency political questions, when they should not have been such.

But has that same attitude been taken by the party toward suffrage?

The answer is found in the record of the House Rules Committee's consideration of the woman suffrage constitutional amendment. The suffragists merely asked that a new House committee, on Woman Suffrage, be created. Why not? There is a Committee on Indian Affairs, though there are more women voters in the country than there are Indians; more women wanting to vote, or wanting not to vote, than there are people taking any possible interest in Indian affairs. Why should the Indians have a committee, but the suffragists be denied it?

There is a Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers! It may be a good and useful committee, it may have perverted sessions and discuss affairs of tremendous import. But somehow we are moved to doubt if the wastebasket question is any more urgent in this country today than the woman suffrage issue.

Over in the Senate there is a Committee on Revolutionary Claims. Are we to understand that revolutionary claims are still a living, burning issue, while woman suffrage, with four millions of women actually enfranchised, in ten states, and other millions fighting for the franchise in thirty-eight other states, is yet too academic to have a committee created to consider it?

There is no possible excuse for refusing to create a committee on this subject, so long as the houses of Congress are organized as at present.

But are the Democrats as a party to be blamed for not creating this committee?

There can be only one fair answer. They are. They claim the credit for what Congress has done that is creditable; and they will get it, too.

When Congress was Republican and a Cannon organization smothered popular and passed unpopular legislation, was that a "non-political

When the question of creating a Woman Suffrage Committee was sent to the House Committee on Rules, did that body make it a political question?

The answer is equally plain. Four Democrats voted against the new committee; one Democrat and three Republicans voted for it. Thus it was lost on a tie vote.

Then it was proposed to let the proposition come before the House without recommendation. That would have been non-political and fair. But what happened?

ALL FIVE DEMOCRATS TURNED IN AND VOTED AGAINST IT.

The proposition lost, five to three.

If that didn't make it as political as politicians could make it, pray what course could have done so?

The fact is as upstanding as a steeple, that woman suffrage is a political question.

The Committee on Rules has made it a party political question.

They have done this, not on the merits of the question itself, but on the utterly inexcusable detail of merely giving fair treatment to the question and to the women, voting and non-voting, pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage, of the whole country.

The Congressional Union ladies have the argument all on their side. They couldn't do less than they are doing, unless they expect to smile and simper their way to victory in this fight. They will do that about the time Gibraltar is captured with a confetti assault.

How the Vote Was Won

At the Columbia Theater on February the twentieth, at five p. m., two very clever suffrage plays, staged by Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest and Mrs. William Cleggett, Jr. (?) will be produced. The first one, "Before Sunrise," deals with a typical old-fashioned girl, brought up in a conventional environment by the unthinking, one-ideal British parents—of the past; showing the girl hopelessly uneducated, untrained for any vocation, ignorant and entirely unfitted and unable to cope with life—or even to see it whole—who is inevitably led or forced into a sordid, uncongenial marriage. There, after the manner of playwrights, the curtain in rung down just where the real drama begins.

The second will be a one-act play by Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St. John, "How The Vote Was Won," which represents the Emancipated Woman freeing and giving herself and other women the rights of full citizenship.

The action of the play shows the strongly introduced objections and "natural" repugnance of men to seeing women leave their homes (which so often exist solely in the imagination) to earn their own living, suddenly yield to a very strong argument, aimed at their pockets. This was the Woman's Strike, which forced all women to stop work and claim support from their "nearest male relative," or failing any such valuable possession—to go to the Workhouse until the passage of a bill for the removal of the sex disability.

Hence the ludicrous spectacle of the workhouses besieged by armies of women demanding entrance, and the greatly afflicted "nearest male relative" with varying numbers of unemployed women sitting with bag and baggage, bird cages, pet dogs, etc., etc., in womanly idleness in his own already too small house—and claiming indefinite support!

As the full meaning of this dawns on him, with a bewildering, and rather ultra-feminine change of mind, the sorry "nearest male relative" seizes banners and decorations and goes forth gladly—nay, joyously—to join the men's procession in favor of Woman Suffrage, which intends to force the Government to pass the bill. This demonstration seems to tax the whole strength of the police force, and it would have been more than interesting to have seen how the playwrights would have dealt with the situation had those men in their somewhat undignified scramble—broke windows!!

Strangely enough, in this instance, the women of England did not seem to feel that peculiar need of police protection which played such a large part in the public mind here, a year ago; no doubt because their "natural protectors" were otherwise engaged and too busy to interfere with their march to the Workhouse, so failed to offer any abuse or insult to their ranks. And, while the closing speech of the hero is not exactly logical, it is very prophetic of a coming change in the attitude of mind of other unprogressive people, when he says touchingly:

"You may depend on me—all of you—to see justice done. When you want a thing done, get a man to do it! Votes for Women!"

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Congressional Union Announcements**Reception to Deputation of Working Women**

An afternoon reception will be given at the Brighton Apartment House, on California Street, Northwest, on Sunday afternoon, February 1st, from 4 to 6.30 P. M., to the deputation of women workers who will arrive in Washington on that day, to plead with the President of the United States to lend his aid to their cause.

HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Morven Thompson, the very able chairman of Office hospitality, at 1420 F Street, has an able corps of co-workers, to help her, and they have been arranged in the following rotation, to take charge of the hospitality of the Office. Every Monday, Miss Mildred Koonce may be found in the Office, from 10 o'clock in the morning until 5 in the afternoon.

Tuesday morning, Miss Mona W. Gill is in charge, and will receive strangers and answer questions.

Tuesday afternoon, Miss Mildred Koonce, and Mrs. English.

Wednesday morning, Mrs. Morven Thompson and Mrs. Swift.

Wednesday afternoon, Miss Annis Salisbury.

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Thursday afternoon, Miss Bliss Finley.

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Saturday morning and afternoon, Miss Mildred Koonce.

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Chairman conventions, Mr. Perkins.

Anyone who has a spare typewriter to lend, and will have the same sent to Congressional Union, may feel sure of its being very appreciatively received.

COMING.

"Because the time is ripe, the age is ready,
Because the world her woman's help demands,
Out of the long subjection and seclusion
Come to our field of warfare and confusion,
The mother's heart and hands.

Long has she stood aside, endured and waited,
While man swung forward, toiling on alone;
Now, for the weary man so long ill-mated,
Now, for the world for which she was created,
Comes woman to her own.

Not for herself; though sweet the air of freedom;
Not for herself! though dear the new-born power;

But for the child, who needs a nobler mother,
For the whole people, needing one another,
Comes woman to her hour."

(Charlotte Perkins Gilman, from "The Fore Runner").

The editors of THE SUFFRAGIST are eager to make the paper all that it should be at this important period of the Suffrage Movement in the United States. They need your co-operation and renewed interest. From now on it will be sold every Saturday on the streets by volunteer workers. Come and pledge yourself to be one of them.

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